THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

VOLUME LII

NUMBER ONE

APRIL 1961

CONTENTS

PAGES

ARTICLES

BITLAHA, A SANTHAL RITUAL
P. C. Roy Choudhury ... 1- 5

A SHORT HISTORY OF KHANDESH
CHAPTER III
Dr. Mahdi Husain ... 6-20

THE BUDDHA'S FIRST DISCOURSE
Professor S. K. Ramachandra Rao ... 21-30

A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON INDIAN MEGALITHS
K. S. Ramachandran ... 31-44

REVIEW ... 45-46
Gayanaganga (in Kannada)
—G. Nanjundiah

Printed by D. S. Krishnachar, at Prabha Printing House, No. 22-A, Nagasandra Road, Basavangudi, Bangalore-4 (India). Edited and Published by G. Nanjundiah, in December 1961 at the Mythic Society, Daly Memorial Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore-2. (India).

OUR CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Sri P. C. Roy Choudhuri, Special Officer for Revision of Gazetteers, Bihar State, Patna, describes the *Bitlaha* ritual of the Santals in the State of Bihar.

Dr. Mahdi Husain in the third chapter on "A Short History of Khandesh" presents an account of the 'Faruqui Shahs' for the period from 1520 to 1601.

Professor S. K. Ramachandra Rao who is familiar to our readers as a former Editor of this Journal and as one of our regular contributors explains the first ten *suttas* from the *Dhammachakka pavattana sutta*, in his article.

Sri K. S. Ramachandran of the Archaeological Survey, Government of India, contributes the first instalment of a descriptive "Bibliography on Indian Megaliths" which covers all publications that have appeared so far on the subject.

OURSELVES

Lecture

Sri T. N. Mallappa, Retired Justice of the High Court of Mysore, delivered an illuminating lecture in Kannada on 11-10-1961 on "ದ್ವೈತಾದ್ವೈತಾದಿ ಮತಪರಿಚಯು"

New Members

We welcome the following new members to our Society.

Sriyuts: K. Ramaswamy, H. Ranganatha Rao, K. S. Ramachandran, Y. Upendra, D. Padmanabhan, K. Gunda Jois, Mangilal Vyas and Srimati B. K. Dinamani.

Obituary

We regret to record the death of Sri B. R. Srinivasa Rao, a member of the Society for the past six years. We tender our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved members of his family.

THE

QUARTERLY JOURNAL

OF THE

MYTHIC SOCIETY

Vol. LII] APRIL 1961 [No. 1

BITLAHA, A SANTHAL RITUAL

P. C. Roy Choudhury

Occasionally one reads in Indian papers of a *Bitlaha* or an attempt to perform *Bitlaha* in a Santhal Village of the State of Bihar in India by a frenzied mob of Santhals, an aboriginal tribe, and police intervening to stop it. The ordinary picture that is given is that of infuriated Santhals committing all sorts of bacchanalian dances and orgies in somebody's house, damaging the hutments, breaking up the kitchen and the utensils and so on. If the offender is found, he is mercilessly beaten. The offence is usually a traditionally prohibited sexual intimacy between a Santhal woman and a non-Santhal commonly known as *Dikku* or a Santhal woman with a Santhal of the prohibited degree or sept. Occasionally there have even been arrests and prosecutions of Santhals while committing *Bitlaha* or in the course of preventing a *Bitlaha*.

In order to appreciate *Bitlaha* which is almost the last mode of punishment of what is considered a sexual crime according to tribal law, one has to study the background of criminal law according to the Santhal tradition. Even a cursory study of this background will show that the Santhals whom we call backward or uncivilized have a simple but a highly respected social code of morality for keeping up the solidarity of the Santhals. The code is quite elastic and accommodating so far as the Santhals are concerned. There are recognised social offences and their punishments. *Bitlaha* is an extreme step which is

resorted to as the last measure for keeping the bonds of Santhal society intact and to keep the *Bongas* or tribal gods satisfied.

In spite of the onslaughts of the present trends, the Santhal lives in a world of his own. To him the tribal gods or the *Bongas* are a part and parcel of his daily life. If crops fail and if the cattle die in an epidemic, the reason is not far to seek. There have been some lapses somewhere causing displeasure to some *Bongas*. If a Santhal boy or a girl goes against the tribal law, he or she has to atone for it. There is always a provision for punishment which is not at all severe according to our standard. But if the offence is such that the tribe is dishonoured, the *Bongas* will be thoroughly displeased and the whole tribe will be punished by the *Bonga*. A *Dikku* (a non-Santhal) having intimacy with a Santhal girl is an offence of this type. But even here a monetary fine and an injunction by the village counsel that the illicit connection must stop would be the first step. But if the erring parties do not heed in spite of other warnings, a *Bitlaha* has got to be ordered. But a *Bitlaha* is never a sudden move. The procedure to be followed as a condition precedent shows that it is a deep premeditated move, step by step, where permission of the village elders (*Manjhis*) is obtained, where other villages are also informed and a prior intimation is sent to the *Manjhis* or the village elders where the culprit resides that a *Bitlaha* is to be performed.

It may be mentioned here that the Santhal code of law and morality has given substantial rights, privileges and obligations to Santhal women whether they are spinsters, married or widows. The Santhal woman has her civil rights also. Although not encourged and usually condoned by a small fine, she has further a right to her body and can give herself to anyone she likes even before marriage but the man must not be of the prohibited degree. Pre-marital sexual intimacy within the non-prohibited degree, however, is discouraged by the imposition of fines and is condoned only after the punishment is realised. Sexual relations outside marriage have no social sanction or public recognition but if brought to book there is the possibility

of condonation by paying fine and by following the taboo. There are, however, taboos both on women and men just to keep the tribal society together. In the Santhal code of criminal law it has been aptly mentioned by W. G. Archer that sex and its regulation account for by far the largest number of rules and conventions. There is, on the one hand, as mentioned above very great freedom and on the other the strictest control. The Santhals have a very great abhorrence for rape as they strictly hold that the woman's consent must be won first before there could be any intimacy even within the sanctioned sept. An offence of this type against a woman within the sept is on the border line of a major and a minor one and will depend on the circumstances. But sexual intimacy outside the sept or with a *Dikku* is different. The village elders often moderate an extreme view. There have been cases where the village meeting recommended *Bitlaha* but the five *Manjhis* who form a higher Santhal tribunal have moderated the verdict by the imposition of a fine. When the five *Manjhis* give a decision their order is taken to be final but there is a Supreme Court as well. That Supreme Court is known as a *Birsundra* or annual hunt. The *Birsundra* tries an offence usually when the complainant or offender has failed to secure satisfaction from the five *Manjhis* or the incident has occurred immediately before the hunt and it has been decided by the people to include it in the proceedings.

When it is finally decided that *Bitlaha* has to be performed on a date fixed by the five *Manjhis,* a message is sent to the various markets (*hats*) through a messenger. The messenger is usually the complainant. A branch of *Sal* (Sorea robusta) wood with a few leaves stripped (to indicate the date of *Bitlaha*) is taken by the messenger and exposed. A symbol is made out of some leaves which are left to indicate that a sexual offence has been committed. The Santhals at the *hats* would query and a wide publicity of the offence and the date of the *Bitlaha* is thus ensured.

The *Sal* twig sent out is known as the *Dharwak* and has a terrific traditional force behind it. It is only in very exceptional

circumstances when the punishment has been realised a *Dharwak* may be re-called.

On the previous evening of *Bitlaha* people start coming in batches headed by their *Manjhis* or their deputies with drums, flutes and buffalo horns. There is a strange frenzied abandon and the dance known as *Bungar* dance starts the ritual. Vulgar songs are sung and folk-tales with strong sexual slant are recited. The night passes in this manner and the stage is set for the actual *Bitlaha* next morning.

On the morning the offenders are sent for but usually the offenders have run away days before. If, however, the offenders come up, admit their guilt, pay the fine and throw themselves on the mercy of the counsel, the *Bitlaha* is not performed. The actual *Bitlaha* is attended by dances, songs with the beating of the drum and many of the dancers are naked. There are thunders of shout and laughter and the walls and the courtyard (*angan*) are defecated, the kitchen broken up, the earthen pots cracked and the utensils thrown away. The fury of the mob is only on the houses of the offenders. There is complete publicity of the offence, the offender is excommunicated with the recital of chants and certain offerings to some of the *Bongas* as their share. The sacrifice being over, the naked jokers and dancers put on their clothes and the crowd disperses.

The *Bitlaha* means not only excommunication from the society but also consequent loss of the civil rights. No Santhal will have any dealings with a person subjected to a *Bitlaha*. The *Bitlahed* man is contaminated and any touch with him leads to contamination. The Santhal code, however, provides for *Jomjati* which means coming back to the fold by an atonement in the shape of an offering of a feast of pigs and fowls to the *Bongas* and to the caste men. The *Jomjati* function is marked by a peculiar sobriety and want of speeches or ceremonies.

If we analyse we will find the Santhals have not yet been able to throw away their allergy to the *Dikkus*. It was the oppression of the *Dikkus* that had caused the Santhal rebellion of 1855 which led to the carving out of the Santhal Parganas as a

separate district. The Santhals think that the *Dikkus* have taken away their lands, right of hunt in the forest at their will, etc. and the only thing they can do now is to keep back their girls from contamination. That is why they are anxious to save the girls from the *Dikkus* as well as from the contamination of the other septs.

A question arises whether the Santhals should be allowed to practise their *Bitlaha* which is, prabably, out of tune with modern trends. But if one takes a rational view and goes through the *Bitlaha* cases which are not more than twenty-five or thirty in a year, probably there is force in the argument that the *Bitlahas* should not be stopped but should be regulated. There have been experiments in suppression by Police and Magistrates. The results have not been always satisfactory. A Santhal can never reconcile himself to the fact that their action may in the modern terminology of law be an unlawful assembly or a criminal trespass in sombody's house. It is this attitude which has to be slowly tackled and any sudden executive action may not prove the proper remedy. A *Bitlaha* according to experienced administrators, is to be controlled and the ceremony should be allowed to be performed in accordance with custom but as far as possible minus the bacchanalian element. A Magistrate should attend the *Bitlaha* ceremony only in the capacity of a friendly observer and explain that he has come to prevent obstruction to the due performance of the ritual. He should remind the Santhals through their *Manjhis* (head men) that the ritual should be done in the customary manner without violence or damage. These principles had been applied to more than twenty *Bitlahas* in 1943–44 and in every case the ceremony was performed in perfect order. As a matter of fact, the *Bitlaha* is a ritual, part and parcel of the Santhal life and interference with it would be justified only in exceptional cases of administrative expediency.

A SHORT HISTORY OF KHANDESH*
1382 - 1601

Dr. Mahdi Husain

Chapter III

Faruqi Shahs

Adil Khan III, the last of the six Khans of Khandesh, was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son Miran Muhammad who obtained the title of 'Shah' from his royal uncle Bahadur Shah, the king of Gujarat. The remaining five rulers of Khandesh equally enjoyed this title and Miran Muhammad became known as Muhammad Shah I.

He was the son of the sister of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and his reign of seventeen years (1520-1537 A.D./927-944 *Hij.*), uniformly dominated by the latter, presents a unique instance of prolonged, fruitful and sincere co-operation between a royal uncle and a crowned nephew. Eventually the former allotted the latter a seat on the throne of Ahmadabad and declared him heir-apparent to the kingdom of Gujarat. In many of their undertakings they acted jointly, for instance, in their wars and alliances with the rulers of the Deccan, in their dealings with Berar, in their struggles with Ahmadnagar, with Malwa, Mewar and finally with the Mughals. It was on the nephew's recommendation that the uncle intervened in a quarrel between 'Ala-ud-in Imad Shah of Berar and Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmad nagar and finally took the former under his protection (1527 A.D./934 *Hij.*). Henceforth the nephew looked upon 'Ala-ud-din Imad Shah of Berar as the protege of his uncle; in 1528 A.D./935 *Hij.* when the kings of Ahmadnagar and Bidar jointly invaded Berar, Muhammad Shah of Khandesh decided to help the king of Berar and gave battle to the aggressors—Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Amir Barid of Bidar. But he was defeated near Mahur and fled to Asirgarh. On hearing of his

*Continued from Vol. LI, page 186

nephew's discomfiture Bahadur Shah came to his rescue. A triple alliance was formed consisting of Bahadur Shah, Muhamad Shah and 'Ala-ud-din Imad Shah and the allies jointly invaded Ahmadnagar. Burhan Nizam Shah was defeated and fled to his fortress at Daulatabad whence he sent out appeals for aid to the sultans of Bijapur and Golconda. Bahadur Shah considered it advisable to make peace, and it was agreed that 'Ala-ud-din Imad Shah of Berar should recover Mahur and that Muhammad Shah of Khandesh should get back his artillery and guns which he had lost near Mahur at the hands of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. This done the uncle and nephew returned to their respective dominions.

In 1530 A.D./937 *Hij.* Bahadur Shah came down to Burhanpur intending to make it his military base in the course of a projected invasion of Ahmadnagar. But he desisted from his project when Muhammad Shah dissuaded him from waging further war with Ahmadnagar. Peace was made by Bahadur Shah for his nephew. Muhammad Shah was now acting as peacemaker and he further agreed to confer the insignia of royalty—white canopy, scarlet pavilion and the title of Nizam Shahi — on the ruler of Ahmadnagar. In 1531 A.D./938 *Hij.* the nephew aided his uncle in the latter's invasion of Mandu which was seized from 'Ala-ud-din Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. 'Ala-ud-din Mahmud Khalji was defeated and taken prisoner and the whole of Malwa was annexed to the kingdom of Gujarat. In 1534 A.D./941 *Hij.* the nephew further aided his uncle in the siege and capture of the fortress of Chittor and did not abandon the latter even in his misfortunes. While Bahadur Shah was struggling with Humayun in Gujarat and Malwa and fleeing for personal safety from place to place - from Mandasor to Mandu, from Mandu to Champaner and thence to Kathiawad and Diu — and was treating with the Portuguese, Muhammad Shah was acting in hearty co-operation with him; he was endeavouring in accordance with the secret instructions of his uncle to expel the Mughal officers from Malwa. But death cut off Bahadur Shah's career; he was drowned at Diu whither he had gone to inspect a Portuguese factory (1537 A.D./944 *Hij.*). Muhamad Shah was then invited at the instance of

the deceased king's mother to fill the throne of Gujarat. He started but died on the way near Champaner on May 7, 153 A.D./ *Jumada* I, 944 *Hij.*). However, previous to his departure for Gujarat he had been crowned king at Mandu where the news of his uncle's death had reached him. He had assumed the title of Miran Muhammad Shah Faruqi of Gujarat and coins were immediately struck and public prayers read in his name. It is also said that he died near Ahmadabad. His short reign of six weeks, reported by Firishta, spells the period of his journey from Mandu to the vicinity of Ahmadabad or Champaner. His dead body was brought back to Khandesh and buried at Burhanpur in the Daulat Maidan, *i.e.* the Faruqi Cemetery.

Muhammad Shah left behind him a minor son Ahmad who was now raised to the throne. But his cause found little support with the majority of the Amirs who sided with Muhammad Shah's brother Mubarak. Ahmad[35] was, therefore, removed from the throne in favour of his uncle who ascended it and assumed the title of Mubarak Shah. Mubarak Shah wanted also to occupy the throne of Gujarat but was thwarted by the Amirs of Gujarat who demanded the repatriation of Prince Mahmud, son of Latif Khan, younger brother of Bahadur Shah. In the course of his attempt to secure the throne of Gujarat for his nephew Muhammad Shah of Khandesh, Bahadur Shah had exiled his

35. Unlike Firishta who makes no mention of Ahmad, Abdullah Muhammad (*H.D.* Vol. I, p. 60) includes him in the list of the Khandesh kings. He says that Ahmad Shah being a minor his minister Malik Piyaru became the regent. He threw Mubarak Khan, the uncle of Amad Shah, into prison at Burhanpur and tried in vain to blind him. Mubarak Khan was saved and escaped finally through the services of a Yafai astrologer and succeeded in winning over the Amirs to his cause. Malik Piyaru was killed and his son Mahmud fled to Gujarat where our author Abdullah Muhamad met him. Mubarak Khan assumed charge of the regency but his royal ward was put to death before long and the regent became the king under the title of Mubarak Shah.

brother Latif Khan and thrown him into prison at Asirgarh. Latif Khan had died by now but had left behind a son, the abovementioned Prince Mahmud. Mubarak Shah was loth to release and repatriate him as he feared he would lose his own right to the throne of Gujarat which he believed had accrued to him by virtue of his brother and the latter's untimely death. But he was compelled to deliver Prince Mahmud[36] to the Gujaratis who crowned him king at Ahmadabad under the title of Mahmud III, aided by Imad-ul-mulk,[37] a discontended Amir of Gujarat. Mubarak Shah then invaded Ahmadabad, the capital of Gujarat. In a battle that was fought on the plain of Dankri the Khandesh troops were defeated. Imad-ul-mulk fled to Mandu taking refuge with Qadir Shah Khalji of Malwa while Mubarak Shah fled to Asirgarh. He was pursued and compelled to pay a heavy indemnity. But he obtained possession of Nandurbar as a gift from Mahmud III of Gujarat who had promised it while in confinement at Asirgarh.

The battle of Dankri which was an abortive attempt on the part of Mubarak Shah to obtain the throne of Gujarat enabled him, according to Abdullah Muhammad,[38] to obtain possession not only of Nandurbar but also of Sultanpur. Both of these territories Mubarak Shah placed under the charge of Jhojhar

---

36. For this story of Mahmud we are indebted to Firishta (*T.F.B.* Vol. I,) Abdullah Muhammad has ignored it completely.

37. Abdullah Muhammad (*H.D.* Vol. I, p. 61) refers to this incident saying: A Gujarati Amir Imad-ul-mulk Malik Jeo by name had incurred the displeasure of king Mahmud. He fled from Gujarat into Khandesh where Sultan Mahmud pursued him. He fought a battle with Mubarak Shah who had given the fugitive shelter in the plain of Dankri. The Khandesh troops got the upper hand at first but were ultimately defeated. Mahmud then returned to Gujarat.

38. *H.D.—A.H.G.* Vol. I, p. 61.

Khan Habashi[39], a talented administrator and warrior who helped him also to make some new conquests, notably of Handiya and Bijanagar. Jhojhar Khan brought peace and prosperity not only to the territories directly under his charge but also to the capital city of Burhanpur wherein too he exercised a powerful influence. He suppressed the turbulent elements there and put an end to all political disorders. In recognition of this Mubarak Shah awarded him the title of Faulād Khan together with the estate of Jamud and the privilege of keeping trumpets, flags and a certain number of elephants. Faulad Khan became popular with all classes of people in the kingdom and his memory was cherished even after his death which occurred in 1569 A.D./977 *Hij*. His dead body was buried in his estate of Jamud, and his mausoleum raised subsequently by his son, Abdul Karim Faulad Khan,[40] was visited reverentially by the Muslims as well as by the Hindus.[41]

At this stage history records the first intervention of the Mughals in the affairs of Khandesh. It may be recalled that the aforesaid Qadir Shah[42] of Malwa had been defeated and driven out by Sher Shah Suri in 1542 A.D./949 *Hij*. Shujaat Khan whom the latter had appointed Governor of Malwa continued

39. Abdul Karim Faulad Khan was the patron of our author Abdullah Muhammad, about whom the latter gives some interesting details. He was born at Burhanpur in 1551 A.D./958 *Hij*. and died at Pol-taupha — a village of Khandesh in 1605 A.D./1014 *Hij*. He was extremely brave and fearless and highly skilled in warfare.

40. Jhojhar Khan was an Indian as is indicated by his name Jhojhar — an Indian word. Some of his ancestors might have visited or lived in Abyssinia; hence the suffix 'Habashi'

41. *H.D. — A.H.G.* Vol. I, pp. 61-62

42. Originally named Mallu Khan he was an Amir of the Khalji Sultan of Malwa. After the expulsion of Humayun's officers from Malwa he seized the government and proclaimed himself king of Malwa under the title of Qadir Shah.

until Humayun's reconquest of Hindustan in 1555 A.D./963 *Hij.* Then Shujaat Khan tried to assert his independence but died the same year. His son Baz Bahadur proclaimed himself independent king of Malwa. This gave offence to the Emperor Akbar who annexed Malwa in 1562 A.D./970 *Hij.*; Baz Bahadur fleeing before the Mughal arms sought shelter at Burhanpur. Pir Muhammad Khan, the pursuing Mughal officer sacked Burhanpur and committed great atrocities. Mubarak Shah supported the cause of the fugitive Baz Bahadur and compelled Pir Muhammad Khan with the help of Tufal Khan[43] of Berar to go back to Malwa. Pir Muhummad was pursued and overtaken by the allies along the bank of the Narbada and was drowned in the attempt to cross it. Baz Bahadur was enabled consequently to recover possession of Mandu, only to surrender it to the emperor in 1564 A.D./972 *Hij.* The whole of Malwa was now consolidated as an integral part of the Mughal Empire and the border fortresses of Bijagarh[44] and Handiya which had hitherto belonged to Mubarak Shah of Khandesh were captured. Mubarak Shah acknowledged the paramountcy of the Mughal emperor and gave him the hand of his own daughter in marriage. Henceforth the control of the foreign policy of Khandesh passed completely into the hands of the Mughal Emperor who also claimed the services of the Khandesh in any emergency.

Mubarak Shah died in 1566 A.D./974 *Hij.* and was succeeded by his son Miran Muhummad Khan who assumed the title of Muhammad Shah II. He was prodigal and feeble. Power passed into the hands of his minister Saiyed Zain-ud-din and he remained but a nominal king. His reign of ten years (1566-76 A.D.

43. Tufal Khan was originally a slave of the Royal Imad Shahi House of Berar. He acted as regent during the minority of Burhan Shah, the fourth king of Berar. But he imprisoned the minor king and himself became king in 1568 A.D./976 *Hij.* He was attacked, deposed and imprisoned by Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar in 1572 A.D./980 *Hij.*

44. Abdullah Muhammad (*H.D.—A.H.G.* Vol. I, p. 64) gives Bijanagar. But it should be Bijagrah. *Cf. I.A.*, 1918, p. 141.

974–84 *Hij.*), is noted for two invasions of Khandesh. The first invasion which came from Gujarat was repulsed easily but the second which came from Ahmadanagar proved much too strong for the feeble defence put up by Muhammad Shah II. It will be seen that in both these cases his feebleness was the root cause of the trouble. In the first instance Etmad Khan and Changez Khan, the discontented Amirs of Gujarat, dumped their troops into Khandesh with a view to seize Nandurbar. They captured it and advanced to Thalner which was saved partly on account of the timely military aid which Muhammad Shah II obtained from Berar and partly on account of the untimely troubles that broke out in Gujarat. As a result the invaders broke up their camp and withdrew to Broach. Muhammad Shah II marched up to Ahmadabad to deal a counter blow and also to revive his claim on the throne of Gujarat. He was defeated and repulsed though he recovered Nandurbar. In the second[45] instance Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar having seized the dominion of Berar and taken its king Tufal Khan prisoner (1574 A.D./982 *Hij.*)

45. While both of these invasions are described by Firishta, Abdullah Muhammad mentions the second one only. But he throws new light on the subject-matter and enables us to understand why Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar invaded Asirgarh. According to him the said Nizam Shah was advised, after having captured Elichpur, by his minister Changez Khan to conquer Telingana. Nizam Shah complied. He set out towards Golconda, the Capital of Telingana but heard on the way that Saiyed Zain-ud-din was marching on Elichpur. Nizam Shah resented this, for Elichpur had already been acquired by him. He turned round to meet Zain-ud-din who fled in the direction of Asirgarh. Nizam Shah pursued him into Asirgrah where a battle was fought. Saiyed Mustafa, son of Zain-ud-din along with a few Amirs fell fighting. Now Zain-ud-din had been induced by Ram Deo, the Hindu minister of Tufal Khan king of Berar to come over, Nizam Shah having left Elichpur for Telingana and save a treasure of his own from falling into the hands of the latter. (*H.D.—A.H.G.* Vol. I, p. 65,).

Muhammad Shah II came to the rescue.[46] But was defeated and pursued. The victorious king of Ahmadnagar sacked Burhanpur and besieged Asirgarh whither Muhammad Shah II had fled and taken refuge. The latter was then compelled to sue for peace and paid a heavy indemnity amounting to 900,000 Muzaffris[47] according to one account and a million according to another.

Shortly after this Muhammad Shah II died (1576 A.D./ 984 *Hij.*) leaving behind a minor son Hasan Khan and a brother Rāja Āli Khan. Rāja Āli Khan who was then at Agra reached Burhanpur three days after his brother's death. Hasan Khan who had been meanwhile raised to the throne was deposed and Rāja Āli Khan became king. Such is the account given by Firishta.[48] According to Hajji-ud-Dabir[49] Rāja Āli Khan was present in the Burhanpur palace on the eve of his brother's death

---

Firishta's account of this invasion is a little muddled. Still we have followed him on the whole, Abdulla Muhammad being sparing and sketchy.

46. Muhammad Shah II of Khandesh came to the rescue of Berar for more than one reason. Tugal Khan the king of Berar had been his comrade and he considered Berar his sphere of influence. The annexation of Berar by Ahmadnagar was resented by the kings of Bijapur and Golconda and they urged Muhammad Shah of Khandesh to rescue Berar. Mahammad Shah's powerful minister Saiyed Zain-ud-din, intending to make capital out of this sore need of Berar, aspired to annex Berar to Khandesh.
47. A Muzaffari — a coin of mediaeval Gujarat — amounted to an eight anna piece of modern Indian currency. While the *B.M.* gives the figure of 900,000 the *T.F.* mentions one million. The balance of one hundred thousand Muzaffaris was pocketed by the vazir who negotiated the treaty. *Cf.I.H.* 1918, p. 143. Abdulla Muhammad (*H.D. – A.H.G.* Vol. I, p. 67) mentions 300,000 Muzaffaris only.
48. *T. F.* Bombay, Vol. I.
49. *H.D.—A.H.G.* Vol. I, p. 66.

*

and exploited the situation. A party of the Amirs headed by Lad Muhammad Mir Bakshi insisted on the accession of Hasan Khan who was raised to the throne. But Lad Muhammad who had cherished the hope of becoming the regent of the minor king was replaced by Rāja Āli Khan who had obtained the powerful support of the minister Saiyed Zain-ud-din. From the regency he rose to fill the throne when a secret conspiracy aiming at his assassination leaked out and failed. Prominent among the conspirators were Maihan, the *kotwal* of Burhanpur, Hasan Khan's mother and her brother Āli Khan whose vain attempt to gain over Arab Khan al-Yafai, devotee of Rāja Āli Khan, sealed the fate of the conspirators. Rāja Āli Khan then ascended the throne, his nephew Hasan Khan being deposed and probably killed like many of the conspirators.[50]

Rāja Āli Khan had been impressed by the rapid growth of the Mughal Empire. Consequently he dropped his title of 'Shah' and was content to remain a vassal of the Mughal Emperor Akbar whose suzerainty he acknowledged. He also cherished the most friendly relations with the independent kings of the Deccan. Such is Firishta's account which is at variance[51] with that of Hajji-ud-Dabir. According to the latter, Rāja Āli Khan assumed the title of Adil Shah IV and aspired to stem the tide of the Mughal arms by organizing a united Deccan front and by raising the northern frontier of Berar into an invincible protective

50. Hasan Khan's mother was freed and forgiven.

51. In spite of their outward difference both Firishta and Hajji-ud-Dabir are at bottom of the same opinion that Rāja Āli Khan was a practical statesman. He avoided the title 'Shah' in all his correspondence with the Mughal emperor and contented himself with the title 'Rāja' which literally meant 'king', for while it announced the kingship of Khandesh it gave no offence to the Mughal emperor, Akbar, and was consistent with the best traditions of the Faruqi dynasty whose progenitor was Rāja Ahmad. The exalted title of 'Shah' or Adil Shah IV was wisely used within the limits of Khandesh.

bulwark. But he soon realized the petty-mindedness of the said Deccan kings. He became convinced that the rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Bijapur and Golconda would in no circumstance work unitedly even against their common enemy, the Mughals.

That Rāja Āli Khan was merely a vassal of the Mughal Emperor— an impression which a superficial reading of Firishta creates—is not borne out by a study of the opening years of his reign. It should be noted that unlike his two predecessors Mubarak Shah II and Muhammad Shah II who had paid tribute to the Mughal emperor, Rāja Āli Khan was not a tributary. Called upon in 1579 A.D./987 *Hij.* by the Mughal officer, Budagh Khan governor of Malwa to pay the tribute, Rāja Āli Khan boldy replied saying, I collect the revenue for the army and am accountable to my army for it.[52] Budagh Khan's son Abdul Muttalib who had come demanding the tribute was driven away across the Narbada, his retinue was plundered and his banners and kettle-drums were taken to Asirgarh as trophies.[53] Another proof of Rāja Āli Khan's firm resolution to stem the tide of the Mughal empire's expansion across the Narbada is afforded by an incident which took place in 1593 A.D./1002 *Hij.* In that year Murtaza Nizam Shah I of Ahmadnagar having retired from public affairs on account of his mental disorder the charge of government was assumed by his minister Salabat Khan. The latter came into conflict with Saiyed Murtaza Sabzwari governor of Berar and his lieutenant Khudawand Khan. Being worsted in a fight with the minister at Jeur near Ahmadnagar both fled to Agra to invoke the aid of the Mughal Emperor. On the way to Agra they crossed into Khandesh to enlist the support of Rāja Āli Khan. But Rāja Āli Khan did not approve of their inviting imperial interference in the internal affairs of the Deccan. Far from giving them any support he chased them up the Narbada and deprived them of some of their horses and elephants. A similar intrepidity was exhibited by Rāja Āli Khan when Mirza Aziz Koka Khan-i-Azam the Mughal governor of Malwa invaded

52. *H.D. — A.H.G.* Vol. I, p. 67.

53. *Op. Cit.*

Berar in 1594 A.D./1003 *Hij.* and endeavoured to win him over to the Mughal camp. Rāja Āli Khan thwarted him, and far from siding with the Mughal aggressors he joined hands with Mirza Muhammad Taqi, the officer in charge of the Deccan forces of opposition, and marched on Handiya the headquarters of the Mughal camp. But he retired to Khandesh when he found that the major conflict which had been apprehended was avoided, his allies having dissipated their resources in a vain pursuit of Khan-i-Azam who had busied himself in plunder of the region from Berar to Nandurbar.

The affairs of Ahmadnagar having meanwhile fallen into terrible disorder Rāja Āli Khan played another creditable role in raising Burhan Nizam Shah II to the throne of Ahmadnagar with the full approval of Akbar and his military aide. But Burhan Nizam Shah II who was by no means a strong ruler disappointed Emperor Akbar. Instead of proving a vassal of the Mughal Empire as had been expected Burhan asserted his independence. But he died shortly after (1595 A.D./1004 *Hij.*) and his death threw Ahmadnagar again into a welter of anarchy. At that time Emperor Akbar sent Prince Murad and Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan to conquer Ahmadnagar. Now Rāja Āli Khan confronted a very serious impasse. The Mughal envoys were out to purchase Rāja Āli Khan and offered him Nandurbar which had hitherto formed part of the imperial province of Gujarat if he gave his active support in the projected Mughal conquest of Ahmadnagar. Rāja Ali Khan was known to have always opposed the idea of Mughal interference in the internal affairs of Ahmadnagar. Even now he stuck to his principle and promised no co-operation with the Mughals until he had sounded and been disappointed by Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur and Muhammad Quli of Golconda. He submitted to the force of circumstances and participated in the siege of Ahmadnagar which surrendered after three months' hard resistance. A treaty was concluded in March 1596 A.D./*Rajab* 1004 *Hij.* under which Berar was ceded by Chand Bibi, regent of Ahamadnagar, to the Mughals. But war was renewed shortly after, each side accusing the other of insincerity. Apparently

aggression was attempted first by the Ahmadnagar rulers, military aid having come to them meanwhile from Bijapur and Golconda with the object of expelling the Mughals from Berar. Rāja Ali Khan who was in the midst of the Mughal army marching to the battle-field of Ashti near the Godavari was killed with many of his officers. This was a victory for the Mughals, the allied powers of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda being completely defeated (February 1597 A.D./*Rajab* 1005 *Hij.*). The dead body of Rāja Āli Khan was picked up from the heap of corpses in the field and taken to Burhanpur where it was buried with due honour in the Royal cemetery of the Daulat Maidan.

Rāja Āli Khan was succeeded on the throne of Bhurhanpur by his son Qadr Khan who assumed the title of Bahadur Shah. He resented the suspicions that had been cast in Mughal circles on his father's good faith and was not on the best of terms with the Emperor himself. He had failed to thank Prince Murad for the congratulations the latter had sent him on his accession and had turned down the Prince's invitations to visit him at the Mughal camp of Shahpur brooding ceaselessly on the sacrifices which Khandesh had made in the cause of Mughal imperialism. Although he had accepted Prince Murad's offer of a contingent of 4,000 horse to be placed under his command and had in compliance with the Prince's request given him the hand of Faruqi princes[54] in marriage he failed to satisfy the demand of Abdul Fazl when the latter arrived at Burhanpur on May 1, 1599 A.D./2, *Shawwal* 1007 *Hij.* on behalf of Akbar to complete the conquest of the Deccan and neglected to send formal condolences on the death of Prince Murad at Shahpur (12th May 1599 A.D./13, *Shawwal* 1007 *Hij.*) and failed to send felicitations to Prince Daniyal when the latter succeeded him. Finally he disregarded all the demands of Princc Daniyal for explanations and reparations. Daniyal was so enraged that he decided to invade Asirgarh but was prevented by his father who resolved to march on Burhanpur. To the Emperor's envoy Khwaja Maudud, whom he sent in the course of his journey from Ujjain to Burhanpur demanding explanations

54. *H.D.—A.H.G.* Vol. I, p. 79.

Bahadur Shah gave an evasive reply and instead of remitting the large sums due from him by way of tribute and reparation he sent only four elephants. He thwarted Abdul Fazl when the latter endeavoured to induce him to appear at court during the Emperor's journey and after his arrival at Burhanpur (April 8, 1600 A.D./21, *Ramzan* 1009 *Hij.*). At last Akbar ordered the siege of Asirgarh. Khan-i-Azam with a team of officers being told off for the purpose. At the same time Abul Fazl was appointed governor of Khandesh and new officers, prominent amongst whom were Shaikh Abul Barakat, younger brother of Abul Fazl and the latter's son Shaikh Abdur Rahman, were sent out with respective contingents to consolidate Mughal rule in different parts of Khandesh. Bahadur Shah had meanwhile shut himself in the fortress of Asirgarh and prepared to stand the siege. When it was made rigorous he offered to come personally before the Emperor should the government of Khandesh be conferred on him after the submission. Before this offer was formally made, disorders had broken out in the garrison, for Bahadur Shah had neglected to pay his dues to troops who mutinied and began to plot against him. Sādāt Khan, Amir from the said garrison, marched out with a large following and joined the Mughal camp divulging the secrets about the Asirgarh fortress. Seeing this Bahadur Shah sent his courtier Muqarrab Khan to the Emperor who accepted the proffered submission. Bahadur Shah appeared before the Emperor but was told that the latter's promise to maintain him as ruler of Khandesh could be fulfilled after the Asirgarh fortress had completely surrendered. Since the garrison was still holding out Bahadur Shah's submission was not considered complete. Duped and disappointed Bahadur Shah changed his mind and secretly encouraged the garrison to hold together. At that psychological moment a patriot, Malik Yaqut Sultani, the father of Muqarrab Khan — an old man bereft of sight emerged from the garrison. He made stirring appeals to the surviving princes of the Faruqi house as well as to the soldiers of Khandesh to carry on their resistance to the Mughal invader. It was not until Malik Yāqut Sultani[55] had in despair committed

55. *H.D. — A.H.G.* Vol. I, pp. 86-87.

suicide and his voice of patriotism had been silenced that Shaikh Abul Fazl stepped forward and addressed the garrison promising them complete security and amnesty if they surrendered. At last they surrendered on 26th January 1601 A.D./25th *Muharram* 1010 *Hij.* Bahadur Shah was sent to Lahore and then to Gwalior and finally to Agra where he lived on a royal stipend until his death in 1623 A.D./1033 *Hij.*

The siege had lasted about nine months beginning in April 1600 A.D./*Rabi* 11, 1009 *Hij.* and ending with the surrender of the garrison on 26th January 1601 A.D./25th *Muharram* 1010 *Hij.* as is evident from the *Tārikh-i-Firishta* and the *Arabic History of Gujarat* as well as from the *Akbar Nāma.* Khafi Khan has exaggerated the duration of the siege to four years and his dates— *Muharram* 1008 *Hij.* July 1599 A.D. to *Muharram* 1012/June 1603 A.D. cannot be accepted.

Bahadur Shah's short reign of three years is a fit commentary on his Mughal phobia and provides instances of the foibles of his character as a man and as a ruler. From the beginning he was on the alert against the Mughals who, he believed, had heretofore exploited the State of Khandesh. He was anxious to protect his

---

56. Faizi Sirhindi who emphasizes the strength and invulnerability of the fortress puts the period of the siege at ten and a half months. He says that the world tourists including those who has seen the fortress of Iran and Turan, Rum, Europe and of the whole habitable world had never beheld the like of it. It stood on a range of high hills and the approaches to it were not easily visible, it was equipped with all kinds of ammunition and stores. Vide, *E.D.* Vol. VI.
57. Shaikh Abul Fazl attributes the protraction of the siege to the great strength of the fortress, to an abundance in it of all kinds of materials of defence as well as of defenders and to the fact that the Mughal Emperor possessed 'no equipment for a siege.' He says that the force which had been sent to besiege the fortress of Asirgarh under the command of Shaikh Farid was very small compared with the numbers of the enemy (Beveridge— *Akbar Nāma* Vol. III).

State from further exploitation and if possible to stem the tide of rapid Mughal aggrandisement in the Deccan. But he was a man of weak character. Although he has been praised by Hajji-ud-Dabir for some of his qualities[58] — his assiduity in alms-giving, his kindness to the saints and sufis and his strong faith in God -- he lacked the essentials of good generalship and command of troops. He was not a good warrior in an age wherein the *reson d'etre* of monarchy was masterly skill in the use of arms and armies. The story of the defence he put up at Asirgarh against the Mughal besiegers is amply told by his contemporaries and even by an eye-witness. It is punctuated by elegies on his selfishness, lack of foresight and statesmanship, conspicuous absence of the spirit of self-sacrifice and consideration for the needs, sentiments and even comforts of his soldiers. A similar lack of the grasp of realities on his part is exhibited by his plan to destroy Burhanpur in the course of his crusade against the Mughals. While Prince Murad was yet in command of the Mughal troops at Shahpur and while Shaikh Abul Fazl had newly arrived in the vicinity of Burhanpur to open fresh negotiations with Bahadur Shah the latter developed a dislike for Burhanpur which he thought had become a city of the Mughals. He wanted to destroy[59] it completely and build another city instead at a distance of some ten miles from it. But he experienced strong opposition of the Amirs in this regard. He left Burhanpur intact and contented himself with founding another city which he named Bahadurpur. Its grandeur and magnificence, as witnessed by Hajji-ud-Dabir[60] gives one an insight into the philosophy that lay behind its foundation.

(*To be continued*)

58. *H.D. — A.H.G.* Vol. I, pp. 80-81.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*

THE BUDDHA'S FIRST DISCOURSE*

PROFESSOR S. K. RAMACHANDRA RAO

Namo tassa Bhagavato Arahato Sammāsamabuddhassa

Salutations to him who is the Blessed One, the Most Honoured and the entirely Enlightened.

1. *evam me sutaṁ*

Thus have I heard.

The speaker here is the Monk Ānanda, the Master's most intimate disciple. The occasion for the recitation was the First Council (*saṁgīti*) which was convoked at Rājagaha soon after the Master's demise (See: Note 2).

Ānanda in lay life was the Master's cousin, son of Amṛtodana, brother of the Master's father. He was, according to one account, of the same age as the Master and died at the age of one hundred and twenty years; he became a monk while still young and became the Master's personal attendant and secretary when both were fifty-six; he continued in this position until the Master's demise at the age of eighty. He was a prominent figure in the Saṁgha after the Master's death, and was responsible for the compilation of the *Sutta-Piṭaka.* He participated in the First Council and edited the Master's discourses bearing upon the doctrinal aspects.

Ānanda was not present when this Discourse was delivered: his association with the Master began some eight years later. But he had *heard* it from one of the five mendicants to whom it was addressed. He is here recalling the Discourse exactly as he had heard it from those who had borne in their memory the exact words of the speech.

2. *ekaṁ samayaṁ Bhagavā Vārāṇasiyaṁ viharati Isipatane Migadāye.*

At one time the Blessed One was residing in the 'Deer-Park' of the Sages' Retreat in Banaras.

---

*Continued from Volume LI, page, 179.

Ānanda continues and mentions the occasion for the Discourse as a prefatory remark. The Master's visit to Banaras was in search of his old associates (See: Note, 1). The Deer-Park is now known as Sārnāth on the outskirts of Banāras. There is in the place the remains of a *stūpa* built by the emperor Aśoka to mark the spot of the Master's First Discourse: it is known as the Dhāmek (corrupt for Dhammacakka) *Stūpa*.

The expression 'Bhagavā' ('the Blessed One') is a reverential form of address. Its meaning is variously given: (a) 'possessor of omniscience' (*bhaga-yutta*): that is to say the following qualities: the supernormal powers (*issariya*), transcendental virtues (*dhamma*), noble reputation (*yasa*), perfect accomplishment (*siri*), satiation of aspirations (*kāma*), and efforts to attain self-mastery (*payatana*); (b) 'destroyer of sin and evil proclivities' (*bhaggakāri*); (c) 'Fortunate' or 'the Blessed One' (*bhāgyavā*); and (d) 'Gone to the end of existence' (*bhavantaga*). The last meaning, however, is far-fetched, and is clearly the result of a mis-spelling. It was customary in those days to address a great teacher as the Blessed One.

The Sanskrit restoration from the Tibetan spells *Isipatane Migadāye* as *Ṛṣivadane* (or *Ṛṣipattane*) *Mṛgadāve* (The *Mahāvastu* has '*Mṛgadāye* also). The Tibetan versions introduce *Buddho* after *bhagavān*.

3. *tatra kho Bhagavā pañcavaggiye bhikkhū āmantesi.*

There the Blessed One beckoned to the group of five monks.

The names of the five monks, not given in the Discourse, are found elsewhere in the Canon: Koṇḍañña, Vappa, Mahānāma, Assaji and Bhadda. (See: Note, 1). Koṇḍaññā understood the Discourse readily and was designated 'wise'. Assaji was directly responsible for the conversion of the celebrated Sāriputta, and indirectly of Moggallāna. It is hard to identify the other three monks. The Sanskrit versions have *āha* (told) instead of *āmantesi* (beckoned); one text, however, has *āmantrya āha.*

After these three prefatory sentences, added at a later date by the editors, the Master's actual speech commences.

4. " *dve 'me, bhikkhave, antā pabbajitena na sevitabbā.*"

" *Monks, these are the two extremes, not to be attended by a renunciant.*"

The Master prepares the ground for the formulation of his doctrine of the Middle Course. The 'extremes' are the 'ends' (*antā*) of the scale of life with innumerable gradations. The expression refers to the styles of life current among human beings, their different approaches to the problems of life, their differing attitudes and orientations. Why are the two 'extremes' so called? Because both of these entail great fervour and great conviction. Normally, people do not take up these extreme styles of life; they would be content to pick up and adopt some intermediate styles.

But one who has turned his back on normal life and launches on a strictly religious career is tempted to drive himself to an extreme style. That is why the Master specifically warns the renunciant against adoption of any extreme.

There is a suggestion that this Discourse was meant only for the monks, and not for laymen. This idea, however, is not warranted as there is nothing in the Discourse which is inadvisable to laymen: and on the contrary, the Discourse emphasises the value of the middle course in the daily activities of normal life.

Why then is 'by a renunciant' introduced into the sentence? Because the Master was here addressing the monks; they formed his audience then. He had not as yet decided to take his gospel to every door: he was here trying out an experiment with the selected group of competent persons. But the experiment was successful and the Master's message reached every ear in due course.

This mention of the two 'extremes' and their specifications are entirely absent from two Tibetan versions, which straightway formulate the four noble truths. The third Tibetan version which mentions the extremes adds: *na niṣevitavyau, nôpasevitavyau.*

5. *katame dve?*

Which are the two?

6. (a) *yo cā'yam kāmesu kāmasukhallikānuyogo - hīno, gammo pothujjaniko, anariyo, anatthasaṁhito;*

The inclination for seeking sense-pleasures in sense-desires - (this is) low, rustic, ordinary, ignoble and ineffective;

This is one extreme. But this is normally followed by worldlings, engrossed in mundane concerns. The pursuit of this extreme is characterised as 'ordinary' (*pothujjanika*, lit. "of every man"). And 'ordinary' is further characterised by subjection to five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*): sense-desires (*kāma-chanda*), ill-will (*vyāpāda*), sloth-torpor (*thīna-middha*), agitation-worry (*uddhacca-kukkucca*), and doubt (*vicikicchā*). 'Low' refers to the absence of the elevating influence and to the incapacity for progress. 'Rustic' indicates the tendency to follow natural inclinations passively without bringing to bear the impact of culture, cultivation, reflection and deliberation. 'Ignoble' refers to the absence of a superior goal in life, to the animal existence led by most people. It is 'ineffective' because the roots making for misery in life are left intact, and the individual continues to be a victim of the whirlwind of Saṁsāra. The expression *anatthasaṁhito* (*an-attha, kusala, mañgala, - saṁhito*) has a variant reading in *Lalitavistara*: *nārthopasaṁhito* (*na-artha-upasaṁhita*).

The Sanskrit restoration of the Tibetan text from Kanjur reads: *Yo'tra kāmasukhānuyoga mānuṣo hīnah; pṛthagjnānāṁ anarthasaṁhitatvāt*. The import is: "The inclination to sense-pleasures, which is human, is low nevertheless: because ordinarily men lead ineffective, futile, lives (not associated with proper goals)". Another text has *kāmakuśalānuyogah hīnah grāmyah anāryah pṛthagjanikaḥ*.

6. (b) *yo cā'yam attakilamathānuyogo dukkho, anariyo, anatthasaṁhito.*

The inclination for mortifying oneself - (this is) troublesome, ignoble and ineffective.

This is the other extreme. And the renunciant is at times prone to adopt this style. Perhaps the Master had in mind the rigorous austerities that he himself practised in the jungles of Uruvelā, and the excessively austere practices of the followers of Nigganṭha Nātaputta. This course is 'troublesome' (*dukkha*): the expression in this context conveys the sense of 'needless fatigue', of a style that is unnecessarily wearisome.

The reading in *Lalitavistara* has 'kāyaklamathānuyoga' instead of 'attakilamathānuyoga.' The mortification is obviously of the body (*kāya*); the Pāli *atta* (one-self) is employed figuratively.

The text in *Mahāvastu* has a few additional expressions qualifying the two 'extremes': *na brahmacaryāye na,...na śrāmaṇyāye, na nirvāṇāye samvartanti.* The extremes are not conducive to holy life (*brahmacarya*, lit. Brahma faring),......to rununciation, to Nibbāna.

The Chinese version speaks of "two kinds of falling on extreme actions (*antacaryāpatana*): (a) to care for worldly enjoyment for personal loving affairs (*ātmakāmasukhābhiniveśa*) and (b) not to be able to advance spiritually (Aiyaswami Sastri; *Op. Cit.* p. 490).

7. *ete, te bhikkhave, ubho ante anupagamma majjhimā paṭipadā Tathāgatena abhisambuddhā – cakkhukaraṇī, ñāṇakaraṇī, upasamāya, abhiññāya, sambodhāya, nibbāṇāya samvattati*

O monks, these two extremes were not attended to by the Tathāgata and he was enlightened about the middle path—which affords outlook, insight, tranquility, higher wisdom, perfect enlightenment and nibbāṇa.

Eschewing the two extremes the Master indicates the 'Middle Path'—which characterises the philosophical and religious position of the early Buddhists. The description of the Master's doctrine as the 'Middle Path' is of great antiquity. We find in one of the edicts of Aśoka (Separate R.E. 1) the statement: "*madham paṭipadayema*", "we fulfil the 'middle' (or 'the ideal of the mean')". The substantive '*majjha*' appears older than

'*majjhimā*'. Strictly, '*paṭṭipadā*' means 'foot-path', but the expression is employed as equivalent to '*magga*' ('avenue', 'path', 'course').

This 'path', which has immense practical import, was discovered by the Master; it was not his invention. The Masters do not *make* the way, they only *show* the way. In this context, the expression '*Tathāgata*' acquires some significance: the usual meaning of the word is 'one who has come (*āgata*) even as (*tathā*) the earlier ones (in the line of the twenty-four Buddhas'). The word is alternately split as '*tathā*' and '*gata*', 'gone even so' (like the former ones); and is made akin to '*sugata*'. Sometimes the sense of '*tathatā*' ('suchness', 'truth') is projected on to the word.

'*Abhisambuddhā*' is explained by commentators as 'enlightened independently', that is to say, without the help of human teachers, gods or angels. The Master did serve as a student with two teachers; Āḷāra-Kālāma and Uddaka-Rāmaputta, before he repaired to Uruvelā for austerities; but they did not lead him towards the goal he was aspiring for. Under the celebrated tree at Gayā, when he obtained the perfect enlightenment (*sambodhi*), he was exerting his own intellectual and intuitive abilities in this direction. This is how he could recognise no teacher for himself. But it is interesting to note that in *Mahāvastu* there is a variant reading: '*anusambuddhā*', 'enlightened following (the path of earlier Buddhas)'. It is true that the Master often speaks of the 'buddhas', but it is doubtful if there was already a crystallised gospel of the Buddhas with which he was acquainted.

'Outlook' (*cakkhu*) refers to the proper intellectual approach to phenomena in terms of impermanence, impersonality and misery. The word '*ñāṇa*' ('insight') is a synonym of '*paññā*' which is the opposite of 'avijjā' ('ignorance concerning the real nature of phenomena'); more specifically, insight into the origination and cessation of phonemenal processes is indicated by this word.

'Tranquility' (*upasama*) is the disappearance of the affective phenomenal tangles (*sabbasamkhārasamatha*). It signifies the

stability of mind, unaffected, unwavering and indifferent (*upekkhā*). 'Higher knowledge' (*abhiññā*) pertains to super-human faculties such as telepathy, clairvoyance, recall of former lives, etc. (*vide*: Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, ch. 13). 'Enlightenment' (*sambodhi*) is the sudden awakening of the entire being to reality. The word '*bodhi*' is itself sufficient to convey this meaning; but the prefix '*sam–*' signifies 'exalted', 'complete' or 'perfect'. The Pāli '*nibbāṇa*' is hard to translate; but 'desperation' (suggested by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy) is a near word in English. The *Netti*-commentary furnishes a list of forty-seven synonyms for '*nibbāṇā*'; the general impression conveyed is one of 'extinction of' or 'cooling' the fires of '*saṁsāra*' more specifically the three fires: attachment (*rāga*), aversion (*dosa*) and infatuation (*moha*).

8. *katamā ca sā, bhikkhave, majjhimā paṭipadā Tathāgatena abhisambuddhā—pe—samvattati?*

Which, O monks, is this middle path about which the Tathāgata was enlightened — (as before) — and nibbāṇa?

9. *ayam eva ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo, seyyathīdam:*

It is the noble path with eight constituents, to wit:

The path is that which "is sought by those who strive for *nibbāṇa*" (*nibbāṇatthikehi maggīyati*); or alternately that which "moves by destroying the passions" (*kilese mārento gacchati*). The great commentator Buddhaghosa interprets 'path' as "the means of reaching the (the goal)" (*adhigamūpāyo*).[7] The author of *Vimuttimagga* employs the composite expression '*maggapaṭipadā*' in the sense of "that by which one reaches emancipation (*vimutti*)".[8] If *nibbāṇā* is the goal, *magga* is the means thereof.

The expression 'noble' (*ariya*) is the opposite of 'worldly' (*pothujjanika*) which is characterised by being fettered by delusion, skepticism and trust in rules and rituals (as explained in *Puggalapaññatti*). The synonym of '*pothujjaniko*,' namely, '*anariyo*',

7. *Visuddhimagga* I.
8. B. V. Bapat: *Op. Cit.*

has already been employed with reference to the pursuit of the two extremes' (*ante*).

This 'path' which leads to *nibbāṇa* is composed of eight limbs (*añga*) : and these eight cover all the thirty-seven 'factors of enlightenment' (*bodhi-dhammā*), according to Upatissa.

The eight constituents are enumerated below :

10. (i) *sammādiṭṭhi*;

(i) *Right understanding*;

The word '*diṭṭhi*' is also employed in the sense of 'view', 'outlook'. It is expanded in the commentaries as 'the right understanding of the four truths' (*catusacca-sammādiṭṭhi*): suffering, origination of suffering, cessation of suffering, and th e way to the cessation of suffering. The expression inc ludes the understanding of phenomena as impermanent (*anicca*), impersonal (*anatta*) and subject to suffering (*dukkha*); and also the knowledge that all that exists is merely a continuous flux of five groups (*khandas*) of universals: corporeality (*rūpa*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), mental formations (*sankhāra*) and consciousness (*viññāṇa*).

It is described by some commentators as "the eye of wisdom" (*paññācakkhu*), whose characteristic is clear vision (*dassana*), and whose function is to destroy the darkness of ignorance (*avijjandhakāraviddhamsana*).

10. (ii) *sammāsaṁkappo*;

(ii) *Right thougths*;

'*Saṁkappa*' is etymologically 'making well', that is to say, 'having in mind well-formed thoughts'; in this sense, it is not an error to translate the word as 'resolutions', as some scholars have done. But we have adopted here the rendering of Ven. Nārada Mahāthera; because while *saṁkappa* involves deliberation, it is not necessarily accompanied by a volitional drive. U Saw Tun Teik, the translator of the Ven. Ledi Sayadaw's *Maggañgadīp anī*, also renders '*saṁkappa*' as 'thinking'.

The commentaries give as the characteristic of this constituent 'setting up the wholesome thoughts' (*sammācittābhiniropana*); its function is said to be 'cutting off the bad thoughts'. (*michā-saṁkappappahāna*).

The expression is technically expanded into '*tividhakusala-saṁkappo*', 'the three-fold wholesome thoughts'. The three are: (a) 'thoughts of renunciation', (*nekkamma–*) that is to say, 'freedom from the craving for the five-fold sensual pleasures'; (b) 'thoughts of non-hatred' (*abyāpāda–*) that is to say, 'loving kindness and good-will' (*mettā*): and (c) 'thoughts of non-violence' (*avihimsā–*), that is to say, 'compassion'.

Its essence is application (*appanā*).

10. (iii) *sammāvācā*;

(iii) *Right speech*;

The essence of this constituent is described as 'abstinence' (*viramaṇa*). The abstinence is four-fold: (a) abstinence from 'falsehood' (*musāvāda–*), which is speaking in such a way that truth appears like untruth and untruth like truth; (b) abstinence from 'slander' or 'back-biting' (*pisuṇāya vācāya–*), which is speaking so as to create misunderstandings between individuals; (c) abstinence from 'harsh speech' (*harusāya vācāya–*), which is offensive and abusive; and (d) abstinence from 'frivolus talk' (*samphappālāpā–*), which is talk not pertaining to the goals in life (*attha*), religious doctrine (*dhamma*), or codes of proper conduct (*vinaya*), but which only seeks entertainment.

10. (iv) *sammākammanto*;

Right actions;

The essence of this constituent also is 'abstinence' (*viramaṇa*), and the abstinence here is three-fold: (a) abstinence from 'killing' (*pāṇātipātā–*) which is explained as "intentional killing by physical action or verbal incitement" and which includes causing abortions, destroying eggs, bugs, etc. (*Maggañgadīpanī*); (b) abstinence from 'stealing' (*adinnādānā–*), which is "taking

with the intention of stealing any animate or inanimate property in the possession of the owner without the knowledge of the owner, by physical exertion or verbal incitement" (*Maggañga dīpanī*); and (c) abstinence from 'unchastity' (*kāmesu micchācārā-*), which is defined as "improper sexual intercourse" but which is made to include getting drunk and gambling.

(*To be continued*)

A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON INDIAN MEGALITHS

K. S. Ramachandran

ABBREVIATIONS

AI	Ancient India. Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India.
ARADN	Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions.
ARAM	Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department.
ARASI	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
ARASM	Annual Report of the Archaeological Department Southern Circle, Madras.
ARASMC	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Madras and Coorg.
ARTC	Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Travancore - Cochin State.
BDRI	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.
CS	Current Science.
IA	Indian Archaeology : A Review.
IAC	Indo - Asian Culture.
Ind.Ant.	Indian Antiquary.
ISCA	Indian Science Congress Association.
JAI	Journal of the Anthropological Institute, London.
JAS	Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBU	Journal of the Bombay University.
JHAS	Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society.

JHGS	Journal of the Hyderabad Geological Survey.
JIA	Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute.
JMU	Journal of the Madras University.
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
MAN	Man – a monthly record of Anthropological Science.
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
MI	Man in India.
MJLS	Madras Journal of Literature and Science.
My. G.	Mysore Gazetteer.
PASB	Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.
PISCA	Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress Association.
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
RASI	Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
RASI(NIS)	Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series.
RBAST	Report of the British Association for Advancement of Science – Transactions.
TASSI	Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India.
TC	Tamil Culture.
TLSB	Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay.
TRIA	Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

A

ACHAN, ANUJAN, P. ARTC; 1952-53 Pl. XX figs. 45-48.

From the illustration it could be gathered that the excavation of an 'Umbrella Monument' (Topikallu) concealed a jar burial which contained two small painted cups with pieces of bones and bone powder in them.

AHMAD, KHAWAJA MUHAMMAD ARADN
1935-36 pp. 28-31

Note on the Excavations and Survey of Prehistoric Site in the Raichur District, Hyderabad.

Gives a list of twenty-four prehistoric sites. Megalithic tombs at Benkal are interesting. Each dolmen originally contained 6 slabs, four for the sides and one each for top and bottom. The side slabs form a kind of Swastika each supporting the other. Usually there is a circular or semicircular hole in one of the side slabs. At Lingsgur and Mudgal, there are stone circles and at Maski a vast field of Menhirs arranged in avenues.

AHMAD, KHAWAJA MUHAMMAD

Preliminary Excavations at Prehistoric Sites near Janampet

Janampet is situated on the right Bank of the Godavari in the Warangal District. Three cromlechs in Polichetti Cherugudda, a mile east of Janampet were excavated. While one did not yield anything the two others contained potsherds articles of iron including horse bits, and a gold ring. Cromlechs entombed stone coffins.

At Dongatogu a cromlech with a 35′ diameter outer circle was also excavated.

The author also gives the architectural details of the graves.

AIYAPPAN, A. QJMS
Vol. XXIII pp. 299-314,
1923-33.

Rock-cut cave tombs of Feroke, South Malabar.

Recounts the excavations of two rock cut tombs at Feroke, South Malabar including the surface indications and the finds

therein, *viz.* urn, pottery and iron objects and skeletal remains. In the second tomb the author found an urn and legged trough like vessel (apparently a sarcophagus). Graffiti marks are also described.

Greyish animal ash was also found in a vessel. Besides citing the prevailing popular traditions regarding the caves the author advances reasons to establish the megalithic complex of the cave burials.

AIYAPPAN, A. MAN

Vol. XXXIV No. 197, 1934.

Primitive hand made pottery.

The author refers to a pottery ladle found by Mr. A. H. Longhurst, underneath a sarcophagus in one of the Cairns at Gajjalakonda, Kurnool District. He says that this has been shaped on the model of gourd ladles. Such gourd ladles are used by the Savaras of the Vizagapatanam hills. The author feels that the early potters copied the forms of natural utensils.

[5]

AIYAPPAN, A. QJMS

Vol. XXXI pp. 373-379

Krishnarāja Memorial Number

1940-41.

Rude stone Monuments of the Perumal Hills - Kodaikanal.

Two stone circles excavated by the author, one in the saddle of 'Pancha Pandava Mettu' and the other in the paddy field locally known as 'Vellayan Pillai Vayal' are described with an account of the iterments therein such as pots, iron implements, etc. Noteworthy among these is a channel spouted jar. The author cites a parallel from Iran for the vessel.

AIYAPPAN, A.

ISCA, XXXIInd Session; Presidential Address. Section: Anthropology and Archaeology: 1945.

The Megalithic Culture of Southern India

Main points dealt with are as follows:

(1) Megaliths have a world wide distribution.

(2) Chronologically they go back to Neolithic times.

(3) In determining the changes and borrowings of burial customs anthropology comes to aid.

(4) Main and sub types. Types are not limited to geographical regions.

(5) Different types though belonging to same period reflect diversity in Culture.

(6) Urn burials are characteristic of the Southern districts of Madras province, Cists of Godavari and Krishna valleys and pottery sarcophagi of intermediary region.

(7) There is little in common in pottery between the Nilgiri and Adichanallur graves but phylomorphic and Zoomorphic affinity is present.

(8) Balinese burial custom has parallels with Indian Sarcophagi burial.

(9) Date of Adhichanallur First Century A.D. while that of Perumbair is Sixth to Thirteenth century A.D.

(10) Megalithism survives in some of the aboriginal tribes of India.

(11) Concludes that the megaliths flourishing as they do in late times could not have come as a sudden exotic introduction.

AIYAPPAN A. and REDDY, RAMAKRISHNA A. — PISCA pp. 53-54 : 1945.

Wavy line decorated pottery in the collection of Government Museum, Madras.

Several types of wavy line decorated funerary pottery in the collection of Madras Museu m are to be found. They are mostly on red ware with wavy parellel white lines over which red wash has been given. Decoration is generally outside but in a few cases found inside as well.

Describes the technique of decorating wavy lines.

ALLCHIN, F. R. — MAN Vol. LVI No. 150, 1956.

The Stone Alignment of Southern Hyderabad.

The Alignments are found north of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers in the Raichur, Atraf-i-i-Balda, Nalagonda, and

Mabhunagar Districts of Hyderabad. These are set in parallel lines with mathematical accuracy and are approximately oriented on the cardinal points. Average height is 3′ to 6′, though abnormal ones (14 to 16 and 25 feet) were also observed. Two classes, square and diagonal varieties are seen. Variation from cardinal points, perhaps, due to the fact sun rise was employed to determine cardinal points, was also noted. Found by the side of cist burials these are perhaps contemporary with the cist themselves. The alignments are quite different from the Cochin and Assam types. The purpose is intriguing. These may have been cattle stones with magical power to ward off disease, commemorative stones and caravan halting places on occasion of market days and fairs.

A Gazetteer of sites is also appended.

ANGLADE, REV. A AND NEWTON, REV. L. A. — MASI No. 36, pp. 1-18.

The Dolmens of Palni Hills.

Topographical distribution, description of the monuments, mode and purpose of the construction are given. The dolmens are found in groups and are surrounded by usually a rectangular dry walling. Square and semicircular bounding enclosures are rare. There is no fixed orientation for the chambers. In circular ones they seem to radiate from a fixed point. The authors discuss the possible use of these as (1) dwelling places (2) places of shelter and (3) grain stores. Finally they conclude that the walled ones were probably used as stores, the circular or elliptical rows of stones as at Perumalmalai are ordinary dwelling place and the buried dolmens are the graves.

[10]

AYYAR, VENKATARAMA, K. R.

A Manual of the Pudukkottai State. Vol. II Part ii, p. 995, 1916.

A useful gazetteer of the megalithic and other remains in the erstwhile Pudukkottai State, now merged with the Tiruchirappalli District of Madras State.

B

BABINGTON, J. TLSB
Vol. III pp. 324-330, 1823.

Descriptions of the Pandoo Coolies in Malabar.

Gives a description of Kodeykuls, Topikals and caves of Malabar. He also excavated a few and describes them stage by stage. He says that when loose soil was of considerable depth chattis (urns) were the depository of bones and where bare rock caves were excavated.

Excavations of Topikals revealed that they contained nothing. Under Kodeykuls urns, bones, arrows, iron instruments beads of different shapes, colours and materials were found. Triśulam or trident indicated Hindu Origin. He also gives the architectural details of the caves and their contents resembled those from Kodeykuls. Some of the pots are painted connected chevrons, wavy parallel lines and spiral motifs.

BAIN, D.S.E. JAS
Vol. II pp. 229-231, 1921

Antiquities of Southern India.

This is an account of the excavation of a cromlech near Mysore. Inside the tomb were the usual burial furnishings pots, iron implements and bones. Interesting finds are a small gold ring made of very thin piece of gold 2⅝ inch long ⅛ inch wide with holes at either end; a piece of gold ½ inch square with holes in two of its sides and a curved copper bangle. In some, arrows and spearheads remnants of wood were visible. The author places the age of the buried between 30 to 35 and says the bones do not indicate a pygmy race.

BALL, V. Ind. Ant.
Vol. I pp. 291–292, 1872.

Stone monuments in the District Singhbhum, Chota Nagpur.

Ancient and modern dolmens exist in the whole of Chota Nagpur and this refutes the remark of Fergusson, "They do not exist in the valley of the Ganges or any of its tributaries ". The

author narrates how the Hos a sect of the Mundas erect menhirs in the present day, in memory of their dead. Examples in two villages, at Pokaria, a few miles south of Station Chaibassa and the other a few miles southwest of the former are mentioned.

BANERJEE, N. R. IA: 1954–55, pp. 20–21.

Amirthamangalam, District Chingleput.

Excavation at Amirthamangalam, and urn burial site without any megalithic appendage revealed that urns were lowered in a pit cut into the lateritic bed rock. Skeletal remains consisted of uncalcined disarticulated and excarnated bones (skull, long bones, loosened teeth, etc.). Over the skeletal remains were placed a few pots. These burials appear to be simpler than the elaborate megalithic burials.

[15]

BANERJEE, N. R. AI: No. 12, pp. 21–34, 1956.

The Megalithic problem of Chingleput in the light of recent exploration.

The megalith builders did not bury their dead in the arable land. Burials are found in association with irrigation tanks forcing the conclusion that megalithic folk were responsible for the excellent tank irrigation system. They were a community with settled life, perhaps the result of mutual contact, trade, etc. or due to the ethnic and cultural homogeneity of all megalith practising people. They knew smelting and forging of iron for their implements and weapons. They also believed in post-mortem life. The burials are secondary and post excarnated burials. Megaliths are likened to stupa. The author differs from Dr. Wheeler's view that the pit-circles were macerating pits.

A brief summary of results of the megalithic excavations conducted by him with particular accent on the method of construction is given.

Finally discussing the chronology, the author postulates an earlier date on the basis of 9′ of Black-and-red ware accumulation below Rouletted ware level at Sengamedu, a habitation site near Vriddhachalam.

Reasons advanced by Haimendorf for an early date for the South Indian megalithis (Megalith builders were Dravidian immigrants forcing their language on an already existing population and that the immigration took place somewhere about 500 B.C.) are recounted. The date 300 B.C. would tentatively apply to only a few explored sites.

BANERJEE, N. R. AND SOUNDARA RAJAN, K. V. — AI No. 15, pp. 4–42, 1959.

Sanur 1950 – 1952: a megalithic site in District Chingleput.

The report embodies the result of the surface exploration on the Chingleput District and the excavation of a selected site. Geology plays a great role in the construction of megaliths. These occur on the waste lands unsuited for cultivation and close to irrigation tanks. Superficial indications are not safe guides for classification of megaliths.

The grave contained the usual pottery (Black-and-Red, Black and Red wares) iron objects, weapons and domestic implements, beads of carnelian etched terracotta and shell with incised decorations besides skeletal remains (not found in some graves). Special mention can be made of iron currency bars and horse bits. Similarity in structure and the interment would point to the sepulchral nature though bones were not found in some. The several stages in the construction of these graves are recounted. The effort involved in the erection of these monuments indicated a community living. Discussing the chronology the author puts these to a date slightly earlier than Brahmagiri (200 B.C. to 50 A.D.) and a little later than Sulur (300 B.C.). Several descriptive plates and figures are given. An appendix on the skeletal remains is also added.

BECK, HORACE, C. — MAN Vol. XXX No. 134, 1930.

Notes on Sundry Asiatic Beads.

Beads obtained from the following places are examined critically and described, in some cases with analysis. Beads from

Megalithic tombs and other sites in Hyderabad obtained from excavations by E. H. Hunt at (a) Raiger, and (b) Maula Ali.

Special mention of gold beads may be made.

II. *Beads from Megalithic tombs and midden in Sulur Taluka and Neighbouring Districts.*

(a) Gives a detailed description of cist with two benches. Two extended skeletons were found of which one was a female. Interesting find is a corroded bronze coin identified by Allen as Eran coin struck in 3rd–2nd Century B.C.

(b) Midden not far off from graves: Besides beads a large number of Andhra coins were found. These were excavated by Col. Tucker.

III. BEADS from Urn Burials in the Malabar Coast excavated by L. A. Cammiade.

IV. From Kaula Selinsing, Malay Federated States and Sarawak are also dealt with.

BIDIE. JRAS
Vol. XIX (NS) pp. 693–695, 1887.

Prehistoric graves near Pallavaram.

These are known as Pandukuris, Pandukulis, Pandavakoil, etc. The sepulchral chamber resembles the dwelling of the living. The burial contents also point to this, they being the things used by the dead while alive. He feels that the tumulus is the proto-type of Buddhistic tope or *dibba*. The sarcophagi with row of legs, when looked sideways recalled a caterpiller. The contents inside the chamber would point out to some glimmering idea of future life analogous to the present. He also gives the difference between South Indian tombs and those from elsewhere.

BLACKISTON, J. F. (Ed.) ARASI: pp. 172, 1924–25.

Departmental routine notes.

A group of cromlechs at Chamursi in the former Central Provinces and Berar.

BLANDFORD, W. T. PASB: pp. 157–58, 1877.

Exhibition of a collection of pottery, etc. found by Major Mockler in Makaran.

Maj. Mockler opened a few cairns of long type (50′ long but never 5′ broad). In these were found for the first time pots which had been exposed to the action of fire. In the one on the Kohistan hills near Sooraga silver bracelet soldered by lead and copper arrow-heads were found.

The objects were presented to the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

BOSWELL, J. A. Ind. Ant. Vol. I pp. 150-51, 1872.

On the ancient remains in the Krishna District: Scythic Remains of Sepulchure.

Sepulchral tumuli and stone circles are found in parts of Palnad. Those in the neighbourhood of Karunpudi (Karempudi) resemble Koimbatore and Nilgiris monuments. Structural details of Kistvaens, some having a hole on one of the side slabs communicating with the adjacent chamber is given. Some cists were divided into four chambers by cross slabs. Contents, calcined bones (in some), *viz.* pots of all shapes and the usual megalithic wares, no iron implements. Skeletal remains indicate that the ethnic element was not different from the present day people. Also notices the occurrence of these in a few places near Amaravati.

BRANFILL, B. R. JASB Vol. XLIX pp. 8–10, 1880.

Rude Megalithic monuments in North Arcot.

A megalithic burial monument at Iralabanda Bapanattam in the Palamaner Taluk of North Arcot District is described in detail. This had a triple ring of circle stones of dressed slabs with semicircular and rectangular heads, arranged alternatively. The diameter of the outer two bounding circles were 30′ and 22′ while the innermost was almost a square measuring 12′ × 16′ There were holes drilled in the circle stotes in alignment with the port hole on the eastern orthostat. There was also an antechamber and an inner enclosing wall with a door slab. The

furnishing inside was the usual megalithic goods. Iron weapons were scarce. Interesting is the discovery of three Tamil letters scratched on a fragment of a small bowl.

BRANFILL, B. R. Ind. Ant.
Vol. X pp. 1–12, 1881.

On the Savandurga Rude Stone cemetery, Central Maisur.

The author who had excavated a few megaliths (Kistvaens) gives a vivid description of the burials and their contents. The usual megalithic furnishings iron implements, pots and bowls were found. Remarkable among the pottery are the ladle shaped, gourd like vessels and three legged jars. Some of the pottery bore post firing grafitti marks, commonest being the ones resembling 'M' and 'U'. A descriptive list of pottery and iron objects are also given. He feels that the form of Kistvaens is perhaps a copy of dwellings of the people who built them.

The article is well illustrated with plan elevation and section of monuments besides figures of pottery shape and iron implements.

BRANFILL, B. R. Ind. Ant.
Vol. X pp. 97–100, 1881.

Old slab stone monuments in Madras and Mysore.

Describes the megalithic monuments at Iralaband Bapanattam in the Palmaneri Taluka of the North Arcot District, Madras and Aneguttahalli four miles from Tyakal or Tekkal on the Madras-Bangalore Railway. The one at Iralabanda Bapanattam is a dolmen with usual port hole and a double circle around, in the construction of which only slabs, sometimes with rounded tops are used. The whole is filled up with cairn filling. The cist contained legged terracotta sarcophagi, bones and pots with usual graffiti marking. Iron was scarce. Interesting is the reference of the scratching on one pot in Tamil characters 'Azil.'

The Aneguttahalli megaliths are similar to those at Iralabanda-Bapanattam but without boulder circles. One contained interment of human remains, little pottery and two sarcophagi.

Iron was scarce. Similar tombs are found at Govindareddipalle near Gujalapalle 12 miles North-West from Chittor, North Arcot; Devanur, Kollur near Tirukkoviḷur and several in hills of Maisur, Salem and North Arcot districts.

[25]

BREEKS, J. W.

An account of the Primitive tribes and monuments of the Nilgiris, pp. 72-110, 1837.

Cairns and Cromlechs.

Defines Cairns, Barrows, Kistvaens, Cromlechs and Toda Azarams. The Author had excavated several monuments in the Nilagiri plateau a detailed account of which is given. Cairns are of different types, the main ones being the 'draw well' type and the circle enclosed by a heap of loose stones, sometimes built carefully. The interment beneath the slab stones found near about the centre and oriented North-South or North-East–South-West concealed cinerary urns, containing burnt bones, pots and lids with animal (most frequent being Buffallo) and human figures, bronze bowl (sometimes found inverted) iron implements or razors spear-heads, etc. A bronze bowl and iron razor exhibited traces of cloth wound over them. There is no order in arrangements. Special mention of a triple barrow at Nadubetta can be made. The barrows were circumscribed in most cases by a ring of stone circle, sometimes, double also. Some of them were devoid of any. The interment inside the Barrows were similar to these found within cairn. The bronze found here contained high percentage of tin, *i.e.* 29.89%.

The human figures found here seldom resembled the Todas. The tribes here throw little light as to the antiquity or origin of these monuments.

Stone circles might have been old funeral mands and some Kraals.

Cromlech.

Most of them sculptured, the sculptures recalling those found in the *vīragals* or *māstikals*. While Fergusson feels they were rifled tombs, the author doubts their sepulchral character.

These might have been memorials. The Badagas and Kotas near Tenad claim them as the work of their ancestors.

Kistvaens.

Found only near the Fort of Udiraya. These are known as *Moraiaru name* and are surrounded by a bounding circle with slab cist in the centre. A port hole in the east is also to be found. All of them are disturbed but digging in the enclosed area brought to light fragments of pottery and iron dagger.

These are severally known as *Moraiaru name*, Pandukuli, Pantacurzi, Vedar Kudi, Kurumba Kudi, etc. Several sketches and plates illustrate the chapter.

BURGESS, JAS. RASI (NIS) p. 8, 1874.

Report of the first season's operation in the Belgam and Kaladgi Districts.

To the south-East of Konur, remains of dolmens in groups are seen. Excavation by an European yielded ash, bone and pottery. All are surrounded by loose stones.

[*They are of the passage type with flanking stones outside the eastern slab*]

BURGESS, JAS. Ind. Ant. Vol. III pp. 306–38, 1874.

The Dolmens at Konur and Aihole.

The author is of the opinion that an accurate knowledge of the geographical distribution, charac ter and differen ces of each group of rude stone monuments (burial) is essential for a proper study of origin, etc. Several groups of graves at Konur (near Gokak, a village in the Belgam Zilla) are described.

The monuments at Aihole, Kaladgi Zilla are compared with those at Konur. An European who excavated a Dolmen at Konur found bones, earthern ware pottery and ashes of charcoal.

BURGESS, Jas. JRAS ; pp. 925–929, 1901.

Remarkable Antiquarian Discovery in Southern India.

A vivid description of the excavations conducted by Mr. A. Rea at Adichanallur, Tinnevelly District, is given together with a statistical analysis of iron objects found inside the urn burials.

(*To be continued*)

REVIEW

"Gayanaganga" Bi-monthly in Kannada. Published by Sri Aravinda Sangītha Vidyālaya, Bangalore-18. Edited and Printed by Sri R. V. Seshadri Gavai at the Aravinda Sangītha Vidyālaya Press. Annual Subscription Rs. 3–00: Single Copy 0–50 nP.

With the publication of the June–July 1961 issue, "Gāyanagaṅga" has entered upon the fourth year of its existence. When it first saw the light of day three and odd years ago, people were not wanting who believed that like similar ventures of the kind, this journal also would be short-lived. But 'Gāyanagaṅga' has proved that these misgivings were unfounded. In the intervening years, it has marched from strength to strength and each passing year has found the journal more popular than it was the year before.

Being printed at the Editor's own press "Gāyanagaṅga" is free from the printing troubles which usually afflict journals of the kind. It is, therefore, able to come out regularly and part at least of its success, must be attributed to the regularity with which it makes its appearance. The other, and perhaps the more important part, is the range and quality of the contributions it carries. Though it purports to be a journal devoted to the cause of music, the sister arts of dance and drama also figure in it and, as for music itself, the journal has the distinction of being the only periodical in Mysore State which gives equal prominence to both Carnatic as well as the Hindusthani systems. Mysore being the only State in the country where both the systems are in vogue, it is not surprising that 'Gāyanagaṅga' is gaining in popularity and sales.

Perhaps the greatest service that the journal is rendering to the cause of Indian music in this part of the country, is the stress it lays on the similarity of the two systems and the need for mutual regard and appreciation. In both, development of the *rāga* is the end and aim of musical expression. Both systems

recognise twelve notes in an octave of which seven are *Suddha Swaras* and the remaining five are *Vikrita Swaras*. The notes *Sa* and *Pa* are constant in both systems and both systems are agreed that a *rāga* must have at least five notes. In both systems *rāgas* are classified under parental modes. Besides, some of the *rāgas* of the Hindusthani system have their counterparts in the Karnātak system. Thus, for example, the northern Bhupāli corresponds to our Mōhana and *Malkauns* of Hindusthani is *Hindola* of the South.

While there are basic similarities between the two systems of music, there are also characteristic differences. Unlike the Karnātak system, the Hindustani system is more flexible and is comparatively free from restrictions. To this flexibility must be attributed the existence of various *gharanas* in the Hindusthani system, each handling the same *rāga* in a different way. In the Karnātak system, on the other hand, there is no difference in rendering a *rāga*. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of the Karnātak system lies in the *gamakas*. There are also other differences between the two systems which it is necessary to understand for a proper appreciation of each.

"Gāyanagaṅga" is rendering yeomen service to the cause of Indian music in this part of the country, by emphasising the basic similarities between the two systems and stressing the need for promoting mutual regard and appreciation among the votaries of the two.

G. NANJUNDIAH

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

(Founded in 1909)

(Registered under Act III of 1904)

President

K. GURU DUTT, I.A.S. (Retd.)

Secretary & Treasurer:

B. V. PATANKAR

Editor:

G. NANJUNDIAH

The Society promotes the study of Archaeology, Anthropology, Art, Architecture, Ethnology, Folk-lore, History, Mythology, Religion and other allied subjects more particularly in Mysore and Southern India and stimulates research in the above subjects.

The Activities of the Society are:

(*a*) To publish *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* containing original research articles on subjects connected with the objects of the Society, (*b*) to arrange for lectures from eminent scholars, and (*c*) to maintain a Library and a Free Reading Room.

Privileges of Membership:

(*a*) Free supply of the Journal, (*b*) use of the Library and Reading Room, (*c*) attending lectures, intimation of which will be given to members in Bangalore, (*d*) to bring their friends to lectures, (*e*) to purchase the publications of the Society at a discount of 25%, (*f*) to have the privilege of Rule 105 of the Rules of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and (*g*) to vote at the Annual Meeting.

Contributions are accepted from scholars on subjects connected with the objects of the Society. They must be type-written or legibly written on one side of the paper only. Contributors are entitled to twenty-four reprints of their contributions free of cost.

Annual Subscription: Rs. 5-00 or 10 sh. or $ 2-50
Life Membership: Rs. 100 or £ 10 or $ 50
Single Copy: Rs. 2-50 or 4 sh. 8 d. or $ 1-50

A few sets of back numbers of *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Volumes I to V, VII, XI to XXVIII, XXX onwards) are available at Rs. 8 per volume.

Further details can be had from:

The Curator, The Mythic Society
Daly Memorial Hall, Cenotaph Road
Bangalore-2 (India).